

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

SUEZ

Hugh J. Schonfield — page 2

Emrys Hughes, MP — page 6

No. 945

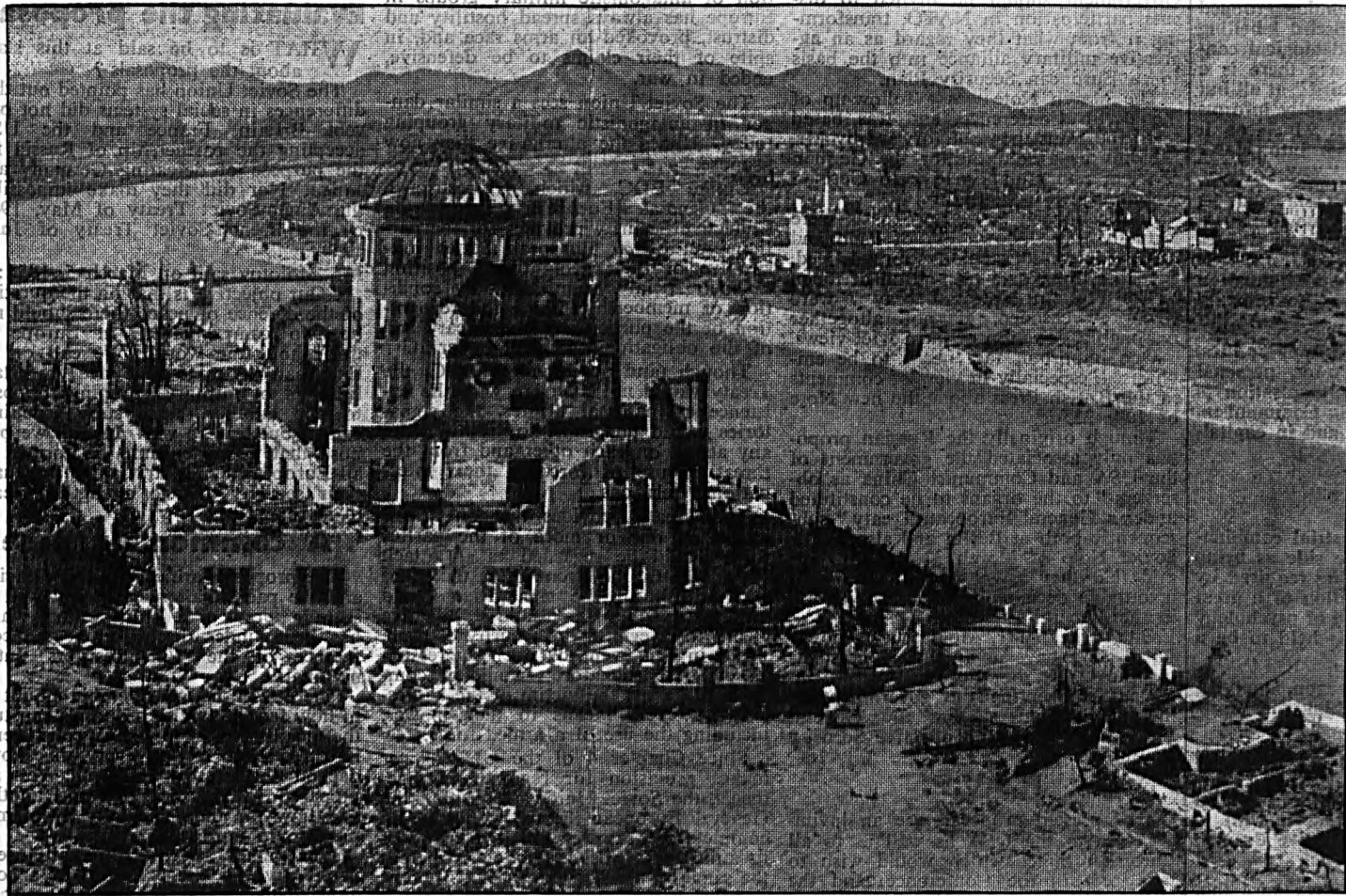
Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., USA.

August 6, 1954

Registered as a newspaper.

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express)
Edition: 10 cts.

THIS WAS AN "OLD-FASHIONED" BOMB



A DAY TO REMEMBER

NINE years ago today it happened, at a quarter past eight in the morning. Since then men have condemned it, excused it, defended it, or praised it. But none have forgotten it.

There was a danger for a time that they might. International morality sank so low, minds became so frightened, hearts so cold that Hiroshima began to fade from the memory in the general turning away from reality.

If the coming of the H-bomb has any value, it is that it is causing people once again, agonising though it may be, to take another look at Hiroshima. It was significant that it should be the same nation, Japan, first victim of an atomic weapon, whose citizens should suffer in the accident that revealed the full terror of the H-bomb to the world.

Peace News makes no apology for publishing this ghastly reminder of the death-dealing force of modern weapons. Tests and exercises in Pacific islands or London boroughs can give little indication of the character of these weapons. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are the only laboratories which have produced any valid evidence. If ever there was a time to make clear to the people of the world the awful pain and tragedy which those cities experienced, that time is now.

LEFT: Hiroshima from the river as it looked nine years ago.

BELOW: One in ten of these children at a Japanese elementary school bears the marks of atomic injuries. The boy in the middle hides a head wound by the cap which he wears permanently.

GROWING ENTHUSIASM FOR THE THIRD CAMP

Movement now well under way

ONE of the most important developments in the peace movement since the war took place last weekend when the triennial conference of the War Resisters' International met in Paris.

The theme of the conference was the "Third Camp," the idea of a world alliance of groups and individuals seeking to win support in their countries for a policy of "contracting out" of the cold war and building up a new democratic way of life that would be a moral challenge to both Communism and Capitalism.

Exactly on time has come the first British pamphlet on the Third Camp written by one of the leading figures in the British movement, John Banks, national secretary of Common Wealth. (The Third Camp, Peace News Ltd. 4d).

John Banks is a new breed of politician.

WAR RESISTERS MEET IN PARIS

The Eighth Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International met in Paris from July 29 to August 3 under the Chairmanship of Harold Bing.

Following a review of the administrative work of the International Council of the WRI and the position of war resisters throughout the world the Conference was devoted to a detailed discussion of the policy of the "Third Camp."

The subject was introduced by A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation; he was followed by Fenner Brockway, MP, who dealt with the colonial and economic aspects of the conception.

Dealing with the subject under the heading "Asia and the Third Camp" Horace Alexander dealt with the three-fold character of Gandhi's teaching: Indian freedom; non-violence as the means to the achievement of freedom; and the development of self-help and self-sufficiency as the means to stabilising freedom and creating the conditions of peace. Horace Alexander's description of Gandhi's work and teaching was supplemented in an address by J. R. Kumarappa.

Speaking on the political aspects of the Third Camp Jean van Lierde brought under review various trends of thought in political and religious movements throughout Europe which were moving in the direction of the Third Camp idea. Ralph Hegenauer spoke on the place that Work Camps could have in the development of the Third Camp movement, and Pastor André Trocme dealt with religious aspects.

A full report of the conference will appear next week.

He believes that politics and ethics need not be incompatible; more, he believes that ethical force, politically channelled can be a greater power for social change than the incentives of self or group interest.

Four years ago Common Wealth, together with the Peace Pledge Union and Independent Labour Party branches at Liverpool attempted to create a Neutrality Referendum League with the object of promoting a policy of constructive neutrality for Britain. It did not succeed.

NO CHOICE

But in the years since then much has happened, much has been learned, much has been prepared. John Banks tells of the worldwide growth of movements and groups thinking their way out of the ideological corner into which men were forced by the pressure of the huge power blocs of Russia and America.

To the ethical man there was no choice between the robot life of the USSR and the chromium-plated barbarism of the USA; he was obliged to reject them both. But, living in the twentieth-century, he had been brought up to believe that there were only two possible ways of life—capitalism and socialism, and, if you pushed capitalism far enough you finished up with the USA and if you went to the logical limit of socialism you got Russia and the Politburo.

The ethical man has therefore been living in a wilderness since the war. There were people, he knew, on the edge of his wilderness who would come into it with him if only they could stand the drought; or perhaps, conceivably, if they could only believe that one day the wilderness might produce some fruit of its own again.

A DIFFERENT PICTURE

The political outcasts of the post-war years have had unhappily to watch the spectacle of good men falling foul of power politics again, making excuses about America, covering up their blushes about Russia, all the time pretending, pretending.

That was why, in effect, the early attempts at a Third Camp movement failed.

But now? Since 1950 things have happened in India, South-East Asia, Japan, Africa, Europe and the United States. Important things also happened in the Iron Curtain countries.

The democratic socialists of South-East Asia and Japan, the Praja Socialists and the Gandhians of India, the Chinese in the emigré Chu Liu Society, the Third Way movement of

On back page

CAMPAIGN NEWS

Another Council ends CD

THE pathetic inability of the Government to provide any satisfactory reply to the challenge laid down by Coventry City Council in abolishing its Civil Defence committee has led to more local authorities and councillors pressing for an honest revelation of the facts.

These are the latest reports:

COVENTRY: Three Civil Defence Commissioners have been appointed by the Government to take over the City's CD. Alderman Sidney Stringer leader of the City Council said: "The three people appointed will have to prove to the people something which, in my opinion, will be impossible to prove." Coventry Labour Party has approved the preparation of a circular outlining its attitude

* On back page

PICTURE POST DEBATE ON PEACE

A disarmed Britain could break the deadlock—Dr. Soper

"THE first community which, leavened by the Christian faith, accepts complete disarmament, and the refusal to fight, will be the first community with nothing to hide. Its voice will be as a fresh breeze in a stale corridor."

These are the words of Dr. Donald Soper writing the third of four articles in this week's Picture Post on "The Most Hopeful Road to Peace." The series which commenced in the issue of Picture Post dated July 24, "is intended to be something more than a series of articles by eminent men. It is a Forum in which we invite all our readers to join," says Picture Post.

"I hazard the conviction," continues Dr. Soper, "that a totally disarmed Great Britain could, here and now, break the international deadlock by providing the first requisite of any international conference—a disinterested chairman."

"Even if this community were called upon to endure a cross—its sacrifices would be creative. It would pave the way to peace, through its very sufferings."

"World Government, the goal"—Russell

Explaining that his pacifism is based on his belief that "Our duty is to obey God today, for then it is God who will take care of tomorrow," he concludes.

"I advocate 'No' to war. I advocate Disarmament, World Government, and the World Welfare State. Because to me they represent the will of God for His children; and therefore I know that they are the road to His peace on earth."

Equally confident is Earl Russell, writer of the first article.

World war will become improbable, he considers, only when both sides are persuaded, not only that war is suicidal, but that the other perceives this fact.



PICTURE POST DEBATE ON PEACE

A disarmed Britain could break the deadlock—Dr. Soper

To attain this position he suggests that the neutral nations—India, and possibly ultimately all non-Communist Asia—should draw up a carefully reasoned report as to the probable consequences of a World War with modern weapons. The report should be wholly, and completely neutral, factual and scientific; should be drawn up by a politician, an economist, a military expert, a physicist and a bacteriologist among others; and should be presented to all the governments of the world for comment.

When all governments, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, have acquiesced in the proposition that no Great Power can hope to achieve any of its purposes by World War, their pronouncements should be broadcast throughout the world, and confidence restored.

Once this position has been reached real negotiation could take place; the problems of Germany and China could be tackled with some chance of success; and Communist and non-Communist Powers might agree to respect existing boundaries and to refrain from propaganda on the territory of the other.

In the more friendly atmosphere that would have been created, a plan for the control of armaments, similar to the Baruch Plan, could be formulated, and a World Government possessing a monopoly of all the most important weapons of war and acting as arbitrator in international disputes would gradually evolve.

"Bomber force the key"—Slessor

The two remaining plans are less optimistic: they are attempts "to avoid defence by

On back page

PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

August 6 1954

THE THIRD WAY

AS we go to press the War Resisters' International Conference in Paris is bringing its discussions to a conclusion.

These have been directed to the policy of the "Third Camp," an approach to the problem of bringing peace to the world that is fundamentally different from the approach of the two great power blocs that are dominated by the USA and the USSR.

To describe the body of opinion that is becoming grouped under this heading as a "third" camp serves a useful labelling purpose that marks it off equally from the two ideological conceptions that confront each other in the cold war; there is a sense, however, in which the third camp is not "third" at all but a single alternative conception to the policy that equally informs both the Russian and the American camps, and which as it increasingly separates them as antagonists brings into closer resemblance their political conceptions and their "way of life."

Fundamentally, for the policies of both Russia and its adherents and America and its adherents, the keynote is power. They are engaged in a power struggle and although on both sides there are from time to time appeals to moral conceptions, it is always evident that these are held subordinate to the accumulation of power, and that they are indeed simply used as occasionally useful mental auxiliaries in the power struggle.

It is not only in the international struggle of power politics, however, that power is the dominant factor. Power, personal power, operated through politics and industrial organisation is the characteristic of both types of society today: in Communism, for which Russia provides the leading example; and in capitalism, as most fully expressed in the USA.

★ ★

Both societies are constructed on heavy industrial combinations which—while they are justified on the one side as being required by "socialism" and on the other as being required by "rationalisation"—equally result in the concentration of a great deal of power in very few hands and create the kind of psychology in which power over the lives of one's fellows is held to be a worthy human achievement.

"Power politics" is not an isolated phenomenon, applying only to international relationships; it is something that flows from the character of society as a whole.

The adherents of the Third Camp idea wish to give moral considerations the ascendancy over power considerations; they realise, however, that this ascendancy cannot be achieved only in the sphere of power as expressed in armaments, dealt with in isolation, but that we have to seek to make it effective through the whole social and industrial structure.

There is great encouragement in the kind of response that the Third Camp idea has evoked, for it goes far beyond neutralism in the sense of an attempt to contract out of a threatened war, and it is the positive possibilities it offers—and for which neutrality in the cold war is only the first step, and the necessary basis—that are making the effective appeal.

We attribute this largely to the fact that the driving force for the idea has so far been found largely among pacifists. It was the pacifists of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation who took the initiative in launching the American Third Camp conference in November last year. It has been pacifists in the main who have been responsible for the activities that have launched the movement in Britain. And it is, of course, world pacifists in their international grouping, the War Resisters' International, who have been giving detailed consideration to the conception in Paris.

★ ★

Hence the appeal has been to the positive opportunities offered by disengagement from the power struggle. For bringing new conceptions of social relationships and international fellowship. Not to the rather obvious calculation that to contract out of the cold war, seek release from commitments, and get rid of the American bases that bring this country the menace of annihilation, offers the best bet of a "safety first" calculation.

We believe that if they approach it on the basis of their moral appeal and with vigour, a Third Camp campaign offers pacifists today a great opportunity.

The terrible moral implications of an acceptance of the hydrogen bomb as a weapon can be brought home today to every man and woman who can be induced to hear us.

Conditioned to regard it mainly in the light of a threat to their lives, people are inclined to drive it from their minds as something beyond them and out of their control; presented as something the acceptance of which is their degradation as men and women, they can be induced to think in moral terms and to seek solutions of the world's problems in such terms.

It is in this climate of opinion that the positive concepts of the third way—the obverse of the policy of which the renunciation of war is the reverse—can be expounded: release of wastage on armaments for the help of the under-developed countries; the approach to the problem of the colonial peoples with a view to the creation of a genuine "free world"; and the endeavour to organise society in such a way that the free spirit of men shall find fuller expression than the cult of personal power.

THE SOVIET PROPOSALS

THE new Soviet note of July 23, addressed to the British, French and American Governments, asked for further talks to settle all outstanding differences. It was a reply to the notes addressed by the governments to Russia on May 7, which were, in effect, a rejection of the views set out in the earlier Soviet Note of March 31.

Amongst other things the Soviet Union urged a General European Treaty in place of, or as an expansion of NATO.

It will be remembered that the March Note had suggested that the Russian Government should be invited to discuss participation in NATO, transforming it from what they regard as an aggressive military alliance into the basis for a European Security Plan.

The March Note was a follow-up of the Berlin Conference, and was based upon the plans then put forward by Mr. Molotov as a solution for the German problem and an alternative to German rearmament.

At Berlin the Soviet proposals were virtually turned down out of hand and without any discussions, or, indeed, adequate time for a translation of them.

The Western Notes of May 7 were a more reasoned, if not altogether reasonable, rejection of the Soviet views.

One important fact needs to be emphasised, especially in view of comments in the British Press about the new Note of July 23.

Though originally the Russian proposals only associated the government of the USA and Communist China as observers "to the organs to be constituted under a General European Treaty" subsequently both at Berlin and also in the Soviet Note of March 31 the Russians said that they saw "no obstacles to a favourable decision to US participation in the General European Treaty."

On April 26 Mr. Molotov specifically stated "We have no intention of isolating the USA from Europe. We see no obstacle preventing the government of the USA from signing the General European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe."

R.S.V.P.

THE present proposals are an invitation to the USA as well as to all European States which would wish to take part in the Conference, and the Soviet Government adds that it considers it desirable that the People's Republic of China should send an observer to the Conference.

It is further made clear that acceptance of the invitation does not involve any commitment in advance and that all participants would have the right not only to state their attitude to the Soviet proposals but also to submit alternative suggestions for creating a system of collective security in Europe.

Nevertheless Mr. Dulles has in the words of the Manchester Guardian "rejected the Note before it arrived in Washington."

True the new proposals differ little from those put forward by the Soviet Union at Berlin, but with the fate of the European Defence Community (EDC) in the balance, with the problem of German unity unsettled, with the danger of increasing tension in Europe on the one hand, and on the other the success of the Geneva Conference and the British Government's expressed belief in peaceful co-existence, there are good reasons for a new, careful and unprejudiced examination of the Russian proposals.

What is the General Treaty

THE preamble to the latest Note is a repetition of the Soviet view of the aggressive nature of NATO which they claim the deliberate exclusion of Russia makes plain, and answers some of the objections alleged against Soviet participation.

It also recalls the lessons of history and emphasises the danger of EDC in so far as it represents a closed military grouping involving the rearmament of Western Germany.

An official pamphlet recently issued through Soviet News* puts the Soviet view in greater detail.

It points out that EDC only combines six out of the 32 European States—only one-tenth of the area of Europe—and deals with only about one-quarter of the population of Europe, and that even many of these are opposed to EDC. Therefore while it unites one in five of the European States, it divides this smaller section of the continent from the larger, and helps to antagonise one part against the other.

The lessons of history

THE pamphlet rightly argues that history shows clearly that the formation of antagonistic military groups in Europe has always spread hostility and distrust, provoked an arms race and, in spite of their claims to be defensive, ended in war.

The Soviet Union sees a similar danger in antagonistic military grouping today. Hence the alternative they now propose.

Unlike EDC, which is restricted, the General European Treaty on Collective Security provides for the participation of all European States irrespective of their geographical position or their social system, the only condition of membership being the recognition of the purposes of the Treaty and of the obligations assumed under it.

Though (and again unlike EDC) the Treaty would not interfere with the existence of national armies, the signatories would undertake to refrain from any attack on each other and from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

The Treaty provides that an armed attack on one or more of the parties to it would be regarded as an attack upon all. In the event of a threat of such attack all the signatories would consult together and adopt effective means to safeguard the security of each, while in the event of open aggression all the other signatories would be committed to assist the victim of the aggression by every means in their power, including the use of a armed force.

Since Chapter 4 of the UN Charter makes provision for regional arrangements, the Soviet Union claims that the General European Treaty would be in complete conformity with it, because of its aims and inclusive character, whereas the same cannot be said of EDC.

The German problem

IN regard to the problem of Germany, the General European Treaty provides that a united Germany should be free to accede to it, but that while Germany remains divided and until a peace treaty is concluded with an all-German government, both the West and East German Governments should be entitled to join in the collective security system.

The Soviet proposals also provide for: 1. The withdrawing of all Occupation troops from both zones of Germany within six months of the Treaty coming into force (with the right in any emergency for both sides to bring back their troops into the present zones); and

2. The recognition of police units in both zones for the protection of their frontiers and the maintenance of internal order, the strength and armaments of such police to be determined by agreement among the Four Powers, who would also have the right of inspection in either zone.

It is also pointed out that the Treaty would be a great help in solving the Austrian problem.

Atomic alarm

THE July Note returns to the general alarm felt by all at the threat of atomic war, and stresses the importance of achieving international agreement on the unconditional prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and a substantial reduction of all armaments and armed forces, under strict international control.

It refutes the suggestion that a stockpile of atom and hydrogen bombs can provide the atmosphere of security and trust, which the Western Powers claim is an essential preliminary to any disarmament.

The Note goes on to discuss "war

propaganda" with the reminder that as long ago as 1947 the General Assembly of UN condemned war propaganda in any form, and contrasts the published statements about the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union with the attitude of the American Press in showing the adequacy of US bases for launching an attack on Russia.

The Note concludes with the expression of the need for economic co-operation and proposes to add to the original draft treaty a new clause pledging the signatories to adopt measures to develop trade and other economic relations between each other.

Evaluating the proposals

WHAT is to be said at this stage about the proposals?

The Soviet Union has pointed out that differences in social systems did not prevent Britain, France and the USA accepting the partnership of Russia for the purpose of defeating Germany and Japan. Nor did they make impossible the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May, 1943, or the French-Soviet Treaty of June, 1944.

Mr. Molotov said on March 5, 1954:

"Our objective is that on the question of the defence of peace there should not be two camps, either in Europe or throughout the world. We call on all European States to renounce the establishment of military groupings opposed to one another, since such groupings cannot but lead to war. Instead we propose that a single camp be formed of all European States striving to safeguard their security and to strengthen peace in Europe."

A common purpose

The proposals are certainly not pacifist and the pacifist alternative may well be seen in terms of a Third Camp, which has been under discussion at the conference of the War Resisters' International.

There will be considerable doubt as to how far the Soviet proposals can turn the possibility of peaceful co-existence into a reality. Almost everything would depend on how far East and West are prepared to risk trusting one another and how far there is really a common purpose to unite them.

What made the war-time alliance a possibility was the existence of a common danger and a mutual purpose strong enough to make any other consideration only secondary. But what caused the break up of the alliance (and indeed its uneasy existence) was the absence of any such common purpose once the war had been won.

No treaty can create such a purpose: it can only spring from it.

Is the danger which threatens mankind—destruction in atomic war—as acute as the danger personified in Hitler, and therefore sufficient to unite East and West in spite of their differences?

So long as the threat of the domination of the world by either Power bloc remains there will be those who will say that they prefer death to living under Soviet (or for that matter American) control.

We do not share their view, but they express the difficulty inherent in co-existence, and in reaching agreement as to what is involved in security and what are the full implications and essentials of peace.

In any case fear is not a reliable motive of association. That might however well be found if East and West could unite in a common purpose and share a common enterprise, and the War on Want provides that need.

Failing the adoption of a pacifist policy a G.E. Treaty may be considered preferable to the present plans which do so much to divide the world and promote antagonisms. If there is any hope that they could relieve tension and open up the way to world disarmament, trade development and fair shares for all, they are worthy of consideration and could be the basis for a fruitful Conference if both sides displayed the same persistent desire to negotiate a settlement and not achieve a victory, as made Geneva a success.

*European Security: The Soviet Plan, by Dmitri Melnikov, 1d.

SUEZ: DANGEROUS PATH FOR BRITAIN

AGREEMENT in principle has been reached between Britain and Egypt on the future of the Canal Base, and the heads of agreement have been initiated by the British Secretary of State for War and the Colonel who is now Egypt's Prime Minister.

The circumstances serve to emphasise that it is military and strategic considerations which have enabled understanding to be reached, and not a belated recognition that the continued presence of British troops is a violation of Egypt's sovereignty.

Is then the proposed agreement an act of peace, or does it represent further preparation for war?

When Egypt became an independent State in 1922 the British forces remained in the country ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the Suez Canal in terms of the 1888 International Convention guaranteeing the right of all nations freely to use the Canal in time of peace or war. In this connexion, by the Peace Treaties after the First World War, Britain took over the responsibility formerly devolving on the Ottoman Empire.

The 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Agreement did not alter this position, but in deference to Egyptian national sentiment the Canal Zone was created. It was also provided that the British forces should only remain until Egypt had sufficient military strength of her own to defend the Canal.

The defence of the Canal could be considered under two aspects, the prevention of its control by any Power which would use it for its own ends and in violation of the Convention, and the prevention of the serious injury or destruction of the Canal.

The Second World War showed how difficult it had become to do either effectively with forces based on Egypt, and now with the H-bomb the protection of the Canal on the spot has become impossible.

The Base therefore has ceased to have any real relationship to the defence of the Suez Canal, and any justification for its continued existence in those terms. Consequently to go on keeping a force of some 80,000 there is a military waste as well as causing constant irritation to a useful ally, and the full

maintenance of the installations is an expensive luxury.

That is the view of Britain's military advisers.

The Base still has a value, but this has virtually nothing to do with the Canal. As Mr. Eden said in the Commons, "The installations we are retaining are required to

By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

assist in the supply and maintenance of our forces in the Middle East in peace. They will also hold certain war reserves."

The so-called Suez Group in the Conservative Party would like to keep alive in some form the old claim that Britain is the legitimate guardian of the Gateway of the East in terms of the Canal Convention and the Peace Treaties after the First World War. The abandonment of that claim is held to be a further blow to British prestige. The claim, however, is even more obsolete than the Base itself, as obsolete as the 1888 Suez Canal Convention to which in the new agreement some lip-service is still to be paid. Only one thing matters now to the Western strategists, the containing of Russia in the Middle East area as everywhere else.

Everything is subservient to that design. The main defensive system has been transferred to Yugoslavia—Greece—Turkey, especially Turkey. That is why in the proposed agreement it is a gain to the Western Alliance that an attack on Turkey in addition to any of the Arab States will allow Britain to reactivate the Suez Base. Even a threat to Turkey might lead to the same result.

Behind the new Front Line will therefore be supply and air bases located at Cyprus, Cyrenaica, and Suez if necessary.

The weak links are Persia and Pakistan, but the latter is already in process of becoming another military and air base.

It is also important, if possible, to end the conflict between the Arab States and Israel, particularly between Egypt and Israel. As Mr. Eden has said, "The whole House wants to get a final settlement between the two countries. Is it not a good idea to start improving our relations with Egypt and to make that the foundation for better relations?"

Later in the Debate the Foreign Secretary made further reference to this question,

Continued page five

Peace Pledge Union to Anthony Eden—

KEEP ON TRYING

The following letter was sent to Anthony Eden by the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, Stuart Morris, following the Indo-China settlement:

Dear Mr. Anthony Eden,

I want to express to you on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union our very sincere appreciation of the consistent and strenuous efforts which you have made at the Geneva Conference to secure a settlement in Indo-China.

We would like to congratulate you on the results and express the hope that they will encourage you and H.M. Government to continue to try to obtain a similar settlement by similar methods in the other outstanding cases of international tension.

We would particularly like to express the hope that H.M. Government will be prepared to make every effort possible, both privately and publicly, to secure the recognition of the Peking Government's claim to represent China in the United Nations.

We would also express the hope that before any further action is taken to rearm Western Germany a further effort will be made through negotiations with the Soviet Union to secure an agreed settlement, which would ensure the reunification of Germany under an all-German Government freely elected, even if this should mean the abandonment of EDC and an arrangement under which the united Germany remains independent of either East or West, both of whom should guarantee her neutrality.

In regard to Korea we would also express the hope that a permanent settlement might be achieved on similar terms through free elections for an all-Korean Government, which again should be independent of either East or West.

We are confident that you and H.M. Government are fully conscious of the moral issues involved in the challenge presented by the hydrogen bomb, and we therefore hope that H.M. Government will pursue the intention of the Prime Minister to seek a favourable opportunity for a meeting with Mr. Malenkov, and that H.M. Government will give a moral lead, not only by endeavouring to persuade the Governments of the USA and the USSR to renounce weapons of mass destruction, but, if necessary, by breaking the vicious circle of fear and suspicion through their own readiness to take such action unilaterally if the consent of the other two Governments is withheld.

We realise the tremendous responsibility which rests upon you and hope that you will find in good health and increasing encouragement from public opinion in this country the stimulus to go forward to even greater successes in achieving the conditions for world peace.

Your sincerely,

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Presentation to Rhys Davies

A wireless set, a small typewriter and a cheque have been presented to J. Rhys Davies, former Labour MP for Westhoughton, by a number of his friends. He was, until his retirement through ill-health, one of the most outspoken pacifist MPs in the House.

GLOBAL PACIFISM



I AM writing just before I leave for Paris to attend the Triennial Conference of War Resisters' International which will be attended by representatives from many of the far-flung sections of the world-wide WRI.

The main subject for discussion is the "Third Camp," and we hope to reach a clearer understanding about a policy in which pacifists and near-pacifists could co-operate to prevent third world war, and to bring about the changes in the economic and social structure necessary to give democracy a truer meaning both in Britain and for our fellow men and women everywhere.

It is good to remind ourselves that pacifism is now global, and to be able to tell others that it is not just the fad of some British cranks. Here also is part of the answer to the heckler who tells us to preach pacifism in Communist countries, for the work of the WRI goes on behind the Iron Curtain, as messages from at least four Communist countries bear witness.

The other part of the answer to "tell that to the Russians" is that actions speak louder than words, and the best way to commend pacifism and non-violence to the Russians is to practice it ourselves. Hence our responsibility, for, if sharing in the fellowship of the WRI brings its privileges and pleasures, it also brings its duties and responsibilities.

We can do more to encourage those who have to maintain their witness under much more difficult circumstances than ours if, not content with the personal renunciation of war, we are more loyal and active than ever in proclaiming all the implications of pacifism. You help to do that when you send your contribution to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund. So please express your good wishes to the WRI conference by a really good response to this appeal, so that I shall not be disappointed when I get back from Paris.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Total to date: £314
Our aim for 1954: £1,000

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Diek Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

DUTCH ANTI-MILITARISTS TOLD

Third camp movement spreading in Europe

THIRD Camp groups were forming in many countries of Western Europe. A. J. Muste, of the American Third Camp movement, told audiences in Holland recently.

Mr. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, was making a tour of Europe prior to speaking at the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International in Paris last weekend.

Speaking to an audience of leading members of all anti-militarist organisations in The Netherlands at the Quaker Centre in Amsterdam, Mr. Muste said the necessities of the

present situation were forcing certain nations to seek an alternative policy from that of alliance with either Russia or America.

Western Europe was one such group of nations.

There was a strong possibility that as time went on Western Europe would develop a policy of neutrality in the cold war.

But this "neutrality" was not enough if Europe was to be an example to the world of a way out of its present dilemma. There must be instead a genuine attempt to create a new way of life based on non-violence and a more creative social order.

The movement towards this was gradually becoming known as the Third Camp.

In Holland there had existed for many years a similar movement known as the Third Way (De Derde Weg). This movement and those in other countries could benefit from increased contact, and it was one of the hopes that as a result of Mr. Muste's tour and the WRI conference there would be better collaboration between existing groups, and new groups would be brought into being.

Mr. Muste addressed similar meetings at Groningen, Rotterdam and The Hague, where he delighted audiences by speaking extempore in Dutch, his mother tongue. Mr. Muste left Holland for the United States in his early years.

Tom Wardle, who has just returned from Holland writes:

The Third Camp movement in Holland, though small, is making a very useful contribution to the development of the idea, albeit in a not-too-sympathetic atmosphere. Publications which have issued news or articles on the Third Camp are:

De Derde Weg—organ of the Third Way movement (monthly). Postbus 4046, Amsterdam.

Vredesactie—organ of the General Netherlands Peace Group (ANVA) (monthly). P. van Vuure, Chr. Bennekersl. 22D, Rotterdam Oost.

The BEDA Quarterly (in English), also a monthly publication in Dutch—organ of the BEDA library and archives of the world peace movement—Stadhouderskade 116, Amsterdam.

TO STUDY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

The International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace is holding a conference on "The Social and Economic Foundations of Peace" at Calw, near Pforzheim, Germany, from August 24-29. Speakers invited include Krishna Menon, Michael Scott and Harold Wilson, MP. ILCOF Secretariat is at Paradiesstrasse 14, Riehen, Switzerland.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND GERMAN REARMAMENT

Strong opposition at Salisbury conference

AT the South West Regional Conference of the Labour Party, held at Salisbury on July 24, Mr. J. B. Hynd, MP, had a stormy reception when he tried to persuade about 50 delegates to his views on German rearmament.

None of the local constituency officers supported Mr. Hynd on the platform and the chairman was brought from the S-W Region.

There were several stormy interludes during the course of Mr. Hynd's speech. One was when Mr. Hynd held up a Communist pamphlet written by Harry Pollitt and quoted from it a phrase condemning German rearmament with which any socialist would have agreed, and asked, "Is there anyone here who would agree with that?"

There were cries of "Yes!" from the delegates and after a remark by Mr. Hynd several leapt to their feet and protested at the attempt by Mr. Hynd to "smear" those who were opposed to German rearmament.

Pointing to the posters advertising Peace News, Mr. Hynd said, "You have several alternatives—there is that of the pacifists, whose views I respect, but whose policy is totally impracticable."

This drew cries of "Why?" from the delegates.

"Why?" he answered and then put forward the stale ideas of a European army with each country contributing. "No socialist would disagree with that," he said. There were further cries of "We do."

Lesson of two wars

Discussion showed the delegates almost unanimously against German rearmament.

Take our views back to the National Executive Committee said Labour councillors, delegates from local Labour Parties and the League of Youth, we are completely and unalterably against any rearmament of Germany.

One elderly delegate from Poole asked Mr. Hynd whether he had not yet learnt from two world wars that huge armaments did not bring security.

Another delegate told Mr. Hynd that he was merely trying to withdraw troops in khaki and replace them by troops in field grey—"Oh no," said Mr. Hynd, "The troops of all the nations would wear the same kind of uniforms!"

A delegate who was the last to be allowed to speak asked Mr. Hynd to report back to the National Executive Committee that not one of the delegates who had spoken was in favour of German rearmament. This prompted a woman delegate from Westbury to say that her party was in favour of the scheme. There were cries of "shame" to this and one delegate cried "You go and fight next time, then."

As delegates entered the hall, copies of the Peace News leaflet on German rearmament were given to them and many copies of Peace News were sold.

At the conclusion of the Conference a delegate asked that a vote be taken to determine the general view of the meeting but the chairman flatly refused to accept the motion.

FOOTNOTE: Mr. Hynd was Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster from 1945-7 with Ministerial responsibility for the Control Commission in Germany and Austria.

NEXT REGISTRATION DAY

Next registration day for conscripts is September 18, 1954, when boys born between October 1 and December 31, 1936, must register.

KOREAN FLASHBACK

The following is an extract from the leading article in Peace News on July 21, 1950, entitled *Historic Illusion*.

The Observer last Sunday noted, as the "biggest surprise" of many recent unexpected events, that the Korean aggressors had not been "morally over-awed" by the "verdict of the world community" against them.

It goes on to advocate the need for a huge and practically permanent defence force: so big that, as it admits, we "shall not be able to reap the full fruits of our economic recovery."

But, it adds, the people must "be convinced that what is being attempted is something new and hopeful"—namely, the emergence of United Nations as "a law-defending agency."

And it hopes the Government will "find words to make it plain that Britain will be sacrificing some prosperity for a necessary purpose, the attainment of world peace."

So far from being new and hopeful, this method of over-awing aggressors and maintaining peace is the oldest and most discredited. It is damned by history as a tragic illusion. The people cannot be made hopeful about it, if only because they cannot see, and nobody can tell them, the end of it . . .

It is said there can be no more discussion until the aggressors have been shown that aggression will not be tolerated. This war will not teach that lesson any more than any other war has done. It will merely deepen the sense of injustice in the defeated and increase the danger of further conflict.

August 6, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

A REMINDER FOR EVANSTON

"... A principle is greater than any or all of its applications. The fundamental peace principle of Christianity demands the utter rejection of war, unequivocally and without compromise. With this principle in its charter, the Christian Church can always utter a clear and unmistakable verdict on any specific measure of statesmanship that is proposed; it will not be misled or coerced, by argument or by force, into participating in any kind or degree of preparation for war, or into lending the sanction of Christianity to the waging of any war whatsoever."

"The achievement of all the great moral reforms in history has awaited the development of a deep religious conviction in the hearts of the people. Vital, uncompromising Christianity when applied to great moral issues, has never failed to bring the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth another step nearer to realisation."

—An appeal to the churches of Christ in all countries from The Society of Friends (Quakers) in England and America, 1922.

Can the World Church meet as a unity?

THE Council of the Pax Christi League has sent a letter to Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, urging the consideration of the Pax Christi plan by the Evanston Assembly.

In the course of the letter the Council says:

No hint has been discoverable that the Christian Church on a world scale might and should pursue a policy of its own irrespective of Governments or of secular opinion. Yet nothing less than this can avail to arrest the drift of the nations towards a Third World War.

The Barthian contention that this is no true concern of the Church, namely, to save the world, gravely ignores the spontaneous pity for death-threatened mankind that arises in the Christian who has the spirit of Christ, and which cannot be repressed with safety to the soul. If the Church has the power to save mankind from so dreadful a holocaust she dare not "pass by on the other side." Moreover, only in such action, can the Church demonstrate adequately the Gospel of the Divine Love in relation to man's urgent needs of both soul and body.

The Pax Christi League believes that in such a duty the Churches need a World-Plan of their own.

The Pax Christi Plan suggests the compilation of a register of Christians who will undertake to maintain the Unity of the Body of Christ across all ecclesiastical, racial and National lines when called upon by the Churches to do so, thus ending the situation where Christians in one country fight against Christians in another.

The League's office is at King's Cross Central Mission, Crestfield St., London, W.C.1. The Rev. A. D. Belden is the General Director.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has inaugurated an Agatha Harrison International Fund which they hope will become established as a means of furthering the work to which Agatha Harrison devoted her life.

A copy of a memorial booklet of tributes to Agatha Harrison will be sent to those wishing to help with the fund. Applications to WILPF, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

The Hull Sentinel, which recently published two columns of extracts from Peace News, said that the material had come from "the lively 4d. weekly that ought to be in every home."

The kind of negotiation which led to the truce in Indo-China should be applied to all outstanding issues of the Cold War in Europe and Asia, the Labour Peace Fellowship declared in a statement issued at the close of a meeting of their National Council. They urge the halting of plans for the rearmament of Western Germany and its incorporation in the EDC and believe that Britain should press for further attempts by the Great Powers to reach agreement on German Unity.

Britain should also press for the admission of China in the United Nations, and vote for this policy at UNO.

The Kirchentag, German Church Congress, was held in Leipzig, Soviet Zone of Germany, this year. Some 40,000 East Zone and 10,000 West Zone Germans attended. Included in the programme of events were performances of Christopher Fry's plays, "The Sleep of

Prisoners" and "The Firstborn" in translation.

Two Pacifists, Miss Dorothy Matthews, B.A. and Miss Florence Surfleet are to hold fortnightly classes in speaking, writing and discussion on Tuesdays, starting September 28. The classes, which cost 27s. for the year, are to be held at 32 Primrose Hill Rd., N.W.3. They include prepared and impromptu speaking; chairing; story telling and writing; impromptu acting; poetry singing; composing letters; melody singing; discussion of everyday problems and difficulties in home, office, workshop, etc., of social, national and international affairs, and of simple child and adult psychology.

For the past five years members of the Danish section of the War Resisters International have been fixing labels on their envelopes with the words, "Say No to War—Refuse Military Service." In February the postal authorities suddenly began to refuse to deliver such letters. Questioned in Parliament by Else Zeuthen, Pacifist MP, the Minister concerned stated that the label was illegal propaganda and upheld the post office refusal. Press action was vigorous, even the big daily papers, by no means friendly to pacifism, coming out with editorials condemning the Government position.

The pacifists have responded by promptly producing another label, reading "It is Legal to Refuse Military Service—(Law No. 187, 1933)." Says the June issue of their monthly magazine, "Pacifisten," it will be exciting to see whether the postal authorities also forbid the new label.

The Youth Section of the Californian (US) Fellowship of Reconciliation called their members out for a poster march on US Army Day. They publish their own bulletin, "Forecast," from 820 South St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles 5.

In Denmark the Army and Navy complain that the best types of youth refuse military careers.

Pacifism is growing in Japan, says a UN report.

Issues raised at the New Zealand Labour Party conference included: Abolition of compulsory military training, subjecting it to a further referendum, or annual review of it by Parliament; reduction in the period of training; reduction in present expenditure on defence; withdrawal of N.Z. forces in Korea; abolition of military training in schools.

We organise a work camp

TO most students in Europe and America the idea of a work-camp is familiar; in East Bengal it is still a novelty.

That is why the Friends Centre in Dacca decided early this year to organise a camp for Pakistani students. There is seldom any difficulty in getting a group of students together to talk and argue; it was likely to be harder to get volunteers who would do the work of village labourers. And so it proved. People thought it an excellent project for others; but, after all, it was unpaid work and likely to be very dirty.

We had gone ahead and found a piece of work in a village near Manikganj, seven hours journey by boat from Dacca. A sunken footpath by the side of the village pond was underneath the water during the monsoon. It was a much-used path, and if it could be built up with earth and rammed flat, it could be in use for most of the year. This work could be supplemented by DDT spraying if the Government of East Bengal could be persuaded to donate the powder and lend the sprays.

Village meeting

Towards the end of March we went to our selected village for the second time to talk to the villagers and "sit in" on a village meeting. The house where the meeting was held was packed full.

Through interpreters we explained the projects we hoped to carry out if they had no objection: we did not want to work in the village if we were not welcome there. There was no objection and much positive interest. It is true that the interest flagged a bit when we asked for the loan of ten mattocks while the road building was going on; but at last we got the names of people prepared to lend tools. We went back to Dacca on the boat feeling that all was arranged.

Of course it wasn't. The DDT had to be wheeled from the reluctant authorities; there were last minute snags over visas for the Austrian and German Service Civil International work leaders who were to come in from India to work with Beryl Roach (formerly with SCI and now temporarily at the Dacca centre); and there was the problem of the students themselves. A week before the camp was due to start we had only two student volunteers.

At the last minute, when Beryl paid a pre-camp visit to the village to see about the cooking arrangements she discovered that the villagers had changed their minds about the road. If it were made into an all-weather road, they would lose the money they could get from selling the fish that got trapped in a hollow beyond it when the water fell.

Another thing angered us; the people now wanted to hire the mattocks to us at so many annas a day, and the man who had agreed to supply the camp with wood for cooking had put up the price. It seemed we were expected to pay through the nose for the privilege of "doing good."

Back in Dacca, Heinz Schrenk and Detlef Bischoff had arrived from India and the volunteers from the Colleges began to dribble in. Originally we had hoped for a large number of volunteers from which the fifteen best would be selected. We finished by taking everyone who applied.

Zero hour

So zero hour approached. On our files we had the names of fourteen students. We tried to get them all together for a briefing; but they turned up in ones and twos hours apart. We told them the time of the boat for Manikganj. We kept our fingers crossed.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Fourteen men and a girl sweated in the sun, built up two stretches of road, and sprayed 758 houses with DDT. The sweat has been washed away, the roads and the sprayed houses remain, the tangible results of the first Quaker work camp in East Bengal.

As students crawled under the worm-eaten wooden beds and over the piles of dried cow dung, spraying the great spiders, washing out nests of angry hornets, impregnating the walls and ceilings with DDT, they were brought face to face with village conditions in East Bengal. As they dug out earth with the heavy mattocks and loaded it into baskets to carry to the roads, they came to feel more sympathy with the labourers digging and carrying so as to keep their families alive on the grim bare margins of existence.

The important part played by the three European work leaders in keeping the work going, encouraging the triers, and rebuking the lazy is difficult to exaggerate. From miles around the women came to watch Beryl Roach

"Still a novelty in East Bengal" writes Bernard Llewellyn

carrying earth and pumping the DDT sprayer. To them the camp was a marvel, and Beryl something of a miracle. As one of the students commented, "It was out of our imagination that a lady can do manual work so seriously."

Students and villagers got on well together once the initial suspicion that accompanies all new ventures was overcome. One keen student taught the village boys some games, and on most evenings football matches were played with the villagers. These caused more injuries than did the work.

Some of the entries in the diary might have been written by victims of the Inquisition. "My body is now full of pain," "My ache is increasing more and more," "I felt an ache in the left foot's thumb and right foot's heel." And so on.

But at night, when the campers were tired of watching the stars beyond the twisted trunks of the date palms, they could forget their aches and pains in sleep which even the hard floors of the village buildings could never entirely banish. Usually there was time for a quick nap after the mountains of rice and dal consumed at mealtimes. And everyone enjoyed the evening discussions or sing-songs that took place on the "village green" by the light of the pressure lamp.

It is difficult to evaluate a project such as

this. I have already mentioned the tangible results: the contact between minds; the communication of an idea; the quickening of a conscience.

I don't think my guess about the intangibles is worth anything. I do believe many of the participants now have a better idea of our motives and purposes in Bengal; while some villagers have discovered that people can come and work with them and for them without shoving them around for their own good.

The work-camp near Manikganj, held from April 15 to 27 was like a stone flung into an ocean. Perhaps the ripples will be noticed and an idea catch on; perhaps, and this is more likely, they will die away and life will go on just as before. But it was fun while it lasted.

THE PANDIT FAMILY Seven army lorries in the dead of night

IN "Prison and Chocolate Cake," by Nyantara Sangal (Gollancz, 15s.), the struggle for Indian freedom is shown, not as a chapter in colonial history but as something intimate, thrilling and inextricably interwoven with family life.

"With us," writes Nyantara Sangal, authoress daughter of Mrs. Pandit and niece of Premier Nehru, "the growth of political awareness was a gradual and unconscious process and the most important thing in our lives. For we were truly the children of Gandhi's India, born at a time when India was being reborn from an incarnation of darkness into one of light..."

At the age of three while eating chocolate cake, "a rich dark cake, chocolate through and through, with swirls on top" a group of policemen arrived at the house... from that day on there was scarcely a time when one parent or other, or both, were not in prison.

Arrest of Mrs Pandit

Briefly she describes the arrest of her mother, now President of the United Nations Organisation:

"It was an incongruous situation. Rows of khaki clad men and seven military lorries waited in grim silence in the dead of night to take away one defenceless woman whose creed was non-violence. Such is the power of non-violence."

But in spite of suffering—her father died as a result of imprisonment—this is a joyous book; in spite of injustices there is no bitterness. Wherever Gandhi went were heard the haunting strains of the hymn "Reghava Raji Ram." Arrest was voluntarily courted by his followers, and imprisonment gladly accepted. Tears if shed, were shed in secret.

The scene of the book shifts from India to America and back again. We read of a journey in a troop ship at the height of the war; of meetings with delegates in the corridors of the United Nations, where her mother Mrs. Pandit was Indian representative; of a state dinner at Government House, Delhi, with the Earl and Countess Mountbatten; and of a Gandhian prayer meeting, attended by men of all faiths, "the nucleus of a universal brotherhood."

Gandhi's India lives on

Most valuable of all is perhaps the picture she gives of her beloved uncle, Mamu (Premier Nehru), and his letters to her explaining in simple words the reasons why India would not support Britain's war effort; letters which gave "on a diminutive scale the same controversy which was going on between the Congress and Gandhiji."

The book closes on a triumphant note:

"Bapu's ashes had been scattered over the Ganges but what if he had gone? We were still there, Young, strong, and proud to bear his banner before us. Who among us dared lose heart when there was this work to be done? The curtain had rung down over a great drama but another one was about to begin. Gandhi was dead, but his India would live on in his children."

OLWEN BATTERSBY.

CHILDREN'S AMBASSADOR



Protein malnutrition is still one of the greatest scourges of young children in many parts of the world, reports the Food and Agricultural Organisation of UN. In many parts of the world not enough milk can be produced at present for child feeding and the milk that is available is too expensive for most families to buy.

FAO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have been working hand-in-hand promoting soybean milk as a substitute for animal milk to overcome this deficiency in popular diets, especially in the Far East.

Danny Kaye, film comedy star who has been touring the Far East as Ambassador-at-large for UNICEF is here seen (left) about to test a sample of soybean "milk" in Bangkok.

BOY FROM LANCASHIRE

George Tomlinson, by Fred Blackburn, MP. William Heinemann Ltd., 16s.

THERE is something in the life of George Tomlinson, a successful Minister of Education, that appeals strongly to our sense of values.

The Lancashire boy from the Wesleyan School, disappointed in his hopes of being a Methodist Minister, served his fellows so faithfully as to qualify, by record and character, for high office in another sphere. And this without the angling and jockeying for position that so often go hand in hand with political ambition.

Tomlinson dealing with the high contacts and highbrows of Whitehall, the intellectuals and the intelligentsia of Westminster, reminds us at times of Harry Truman, with an unexpected greatness thrust upon him, learning success the hard way.

The Minister of Works who shook Buckingham Palace so profoundly as any flying bomb by telling King George his war damage would have to wait its turn, and who lived to be held in such esteem as to be allowed to call Queen Mary "Mother," won through by integrity.

It was essentially the same George Tomlinson who, some 30 years ago, had been registered as a conscientious objector conditionally upon doing work of national importance away from home and who, in his first day on the land, started to tie up a field of 10,000 chrysanthemums. Of this he wrote:

"In every conceivable position I placed myself to tie up those plants, on my knees, on my back, on my stomach, seeking relief for one portion of my anatomy. I started a revolt in another, until as I lumped home to my lodging at the end of the day I imagined that I knew just how the victims of the Spanish Inquisition had felt when they had been stretched for hours upon the rack... Eventually, however, I stumbled upstairs to bed, too tired to sleep, except fitfully, and then always to dream of endless fields of staked chrysanthemums through which I was doomed to travel with a bunch of raffia, tying endless knots to the end of time."

Tomlinson's final acceptance as an agricultural worker came with a fellow worker's report to the manager: "I have been watching him with those chrysanthemums, and I've come to the conclusion that he's got three bloody consciences."

The modest and unadorned style of Fred Blackburn is admirably suited to his subject and he is to be congratulated on restricting his length to little more than 200 pages, which is just about right.

DENIS HAYES.

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

For the moral, political and social advancement of Indians in South Africa

Published Every Friday
Thirty Shillings Annually

APPLY

The Manager
Indian Opinion
P. Bag, Phoenix, Natal, S. Africa

No Socialist is complete without

TRIBUNE

Place a regular order with your newsagent or send 2s 6d for the next nine issues to:

TRIBUNE PUBLICATIONS LTD.
222 Strand, London W.C.2

Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

The Invisible Writing, by Arthur Koestler (Collins and Hamish Hamilton, 21s.)

ARTHUR KOESTLER is perhaps the best-known of the professional ex-Communists. What he has become never seems quite as clear as what he has been. His principal occupation seems to be analysing and explaining his past, and urging the West not to be "taken in" by Russia. Now a British citizen, Mr. Koestler, born of Jewish parents in Hungary in 1905, was for seven years (1931-38) a fanatical member of the Communist Party. In THE INVISIBLE WRITING, his second volume of autobiography, he outlines his career in the service of what has been described as "the God that failed."



ROBERT GREACEN

Now one of Mr. Koestler's great qualities is frankness. At moments, when irritated by his long-winded narrative, I should have been inclined simply to call it exhibitionism. He tells—or tries to give the impression of telling—everything. Mr. Koestler's interest in Mr. Koestler verges on the pathological. He admits to considerable vanity and self-pity, and to an overwhelming sense of guilt allied to a feeling of inferiority. In short—in the past at any rate—Mr. Koestler has been far from integrated. He is at least two men. Here he is writing about himself:

It seems difficult to make sense of a brazen Comintern agent who gains access to the enemy's headquarters in a civil war, but turns into a stammering schoolboy in the presence of Herr Doktor Mann and Herr Professor Freud. It seems difficult to "integrate" the contemplative figure of the hours by the window with the bustling, gregarious extravert; or to reconcile guilt, anxiety and an obsession with prison and torture, with Orwell's damning (yet correct) verdict: "The chink in K's armour is his hedonism."

His claim

Now if Mr. Koestler had only these elements in his nature, and nothing else, nobody would be interested in his 400 page chunks of autobiography or his views on Russia except a psychologist. But there is more to him than that, although a hostile critic could easily write him off using only quotations from Mr. Koestler himself. He claims to be typical of a generation, in Europe if not in Britain; and to some extent he makes good that claim.

He is an excellent example of the intellectual who trips over the coils of his own

cleverness; a man crammed full of knowledge of external subjects but lamentably deficient in self-knowledge; a man supremely, arrogantly confident in his own judgement except in his moments of despair. And yet does all this account for the strange inability to realise for so many years that the cheating, deception and violence which he practised (and gloried in) as a good Communist could possibly bring about a Utopia in which all men would be brothers? Some men are born blind; others, like Arthur Koestler, blind themselves by the vanity of dogma.

Yet THE INVISIBLE WRITING has a very real value as a documentary. Mr. Koestler is not the

kind of man on whose evidence I should like to rely, but he does at least chart certain areas of political experience that to most of us are bewildering open spaces. He travels through the Soviet Union in the 1930s; but if he was as disenchanted as he says why did he not leave the Communist Party then instead of waiting until 1938? He brings us on a conducted tour of the Spanish Civil War and to Cell 40 in Franco Seville; here (so he affirms) he had his first mystic experience, his first intimation of "the invisible writing." He gives us details of his internment at Le Vernet in France in 1939-40; and finally he tells of his last prison, Pontonville, where he spent some time after his escape from France. Of Pontonville he says:

...locked up alone in a pitch-dark, second floor cell during the bombardments, I felt, for the first time since the outbreak of the war, in safety.

I myself think Arthur Koestler is right in combating the fellow-traveller notion that firing-squads and Siberian slave camps simply do not exist in the Soviet Utopia. But assuming that Mr. Koestler has put across his point (and after all he need not imagine that all the British are morons!) what then? He seems to have replaced Communist fanaticism merely by anti-Communist fanaticism. What does he propose? On what principles does he base his present philosophy? Does he believe in atom warfare? When he answers these questions he may be worth listening to, for he has a good mind and writes fluent English.

SUEZ

which he said significantly "was the heart of other matters."

The projected agreement has naturally created considerable apprehension in Israel. There is some fear that Egypt will now greatly increase her military strength and restart the war soon after the last British troops have left the Canal Zone. Israel is by no means certain that in those circumstances Britain and the United States would not remain quiescent.

If peace is not achieved by speedy agreement, it might be considered to serve the West best if Israel were destroyed.

In all these various connexions it is a dangerous path that Britain is now treading. It is right that British forces should be

withdrawn from Egypt.

But the proposed agreement savours strongly of preparation for war, and does nothing to lessen East-West tension and promote genuine peace in the Middle East.

Such agreement should only be made within the framework of wider agreement including peace with Israel, and a new Canal Convention under United Nations' authority and providing for the total dismantling of the Suez Base.

Britain could regain prestige and merit the approbation of all mankind if, as the writer has previously suggested, she came forward as the promoter of the permanent neutralisation of the Holy Lands of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

From page two

Letters to the Editor

Onward: Christian Mau Mau

I'M sorry Susan Milks doesn't like satire, but you can't please everybody and shouldn't try. For the matter of that there are things I don't like myself; and one of them is a letter suggesting that, in the eyes of God, writing a satire might be worse than the blasting of Hiroshima. Look how hurt I should be if I took that seriously!

If the criticism, in my opinion, deserved serious consideration I should not, however, complain that it hurt. It could only hurt if it gave me an uneasy conscience—and that is one of the functions of satire. It is just one of many ways by which people can be induced to think and to feel. Some are "allergic" to it, as some people are to certain drugs. Others respond. There is no general rule except that there is no general rule.

I am not going to risk a clash with Biblical scholars on the questions of what Jesus said on occasions about Herod and the Pharisees. As rendered in the Authorised Version it is tough language—and certainly scornful. William Blake revelled in it as an antidote to the cult of "creeping Jesus." But among the definitely satirical passages attributed to Jesus is Luke XVI, 9:

"Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations."

That may have hurt the two-faced double-dealers, but only on the assumption that they were sensitive enough to feel the thrust. Tolstoy had Tcherkov (wasn't it?) to remind him when he was not being Tolstoyan. Pacifists today have each other and are perpetually reminded that they are too satirical, too dull, too pious, too worldly, too priggish or too lax. Jesus, in spite of all his editors and translators, still speaks like a human being, expressing himself in fasting and feasting, in tenderness and in scorn of hypocrisy, in exhortation and in the subtlest irony. I thank God for the diversity of life and the Gospels.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, Chelsea.

Group Captain Cheshire

THERE are some curious inconsistencies arising from the reference to the bombing of Nagasaki appearing in the life story of Group Capt. Cheshire, VC, Picture Post, June 5, and already commented on by the Rev. H. J. Blackmore in your issue of June 18.

"I may as well confess to you that we were so keen on dropping this bomb... and would have been so disappointed if the war had ended without our doing so, that we'd quite determined—if Japan did surrender before we flew to Nagasaki—to fly there and drop the bomb just the same."

Having confirmed that the above quotation was due to neither irresponsible reporting nor to any oversight of editorial responsibility, I raised the question: to whom was the reference "we"?

The Executive Editor of Picture Post suggested that this would, in Cheshire's mind, include the crew of the plane that in fact dropped the atom bomb, adding that if I felt disposed to write to Group Captain Cheshire, he was quite sure that he would be very happy to expand on the subject.

In writing to him, I stated that if the fantastic possibility that the crew of a plane can legitimately determine such a momentous issue be excluded, there arose the further question: who else is involved?

Despite the confidence of Picture Post, the only reply I have received is one which says: "It has been stated on behalf of Group Captain Cheshire that for reasons of health he has been forbidden to answer correspondence."

R. V. STURGESS.

Harrow, Middx.

Thirst for Adventure

THE following appeared in the London Star, in Marion Cutler's feature "Let me help you" (July 19).

A boy of 15 writes: "Adventure is what I want and the thrill of speed. But where do I find it?"

Gliding is a good sport. In one year 1,474 boys qualified to fly gliders through the Air Training Corps. And in the last five years 1,100 flying scholarships have been awarded. More are being awarded each year.

Of course there will be a uniform and a little discipline but those are details it is easy to accept when our eyes are lifted to the sky and on new horizons of skill and learning.

The Corps is open to boys between 14 and 17½. You can get the address locally from your town hall or write direct to the Headquarters, Home Command, RAF, White Waltham, Berkshire.

Gliding and flying are thrilling outlets for the youthful desire for adventure. Can they only be provided through the Royal Air Force? Are there no civil flying and gliding clubs for young people? Can anything be done to provide a Pacifist Gliding Club?

"PARENT."

Catholics and the H-Bomb

MY recent letter in your columns has brought me several replies from Catholics asking whether there is any Catholic Peace Society.

I wonder if you could spare the space to point out that there is indeed a Catholic Peace Society which urgently needs new members (non-Catholic Christians may also join). It is Pax, 29 Great James St., W.C., and it recently published a pamphlet by a Continental priest, Fr. Ude, called "Thou shalt not Kill," which is the best short exposition of Christian Pacifism I have seen for a long time.

Besides this there is special provision for Catholics in Dr. Belden's Pax Christi League; and Catholics are also represented in the interdenominational Christian Peace Group (Tancrey, Fordwich, Nr. Canterbury).

(Rev'd.) GEOFFREY PAGET KING.

16 Aberdeen Rd., N.5.

Catholic Peace Society

THANK you, Geoffrey Paget King for taking up the cudgels on our behalf. It is true that Catholics have as many different views on the way to obtain lasting peace as they have on the morality of the colour bar. These divergent views are also held by members of other churches and creeds.

As for the opinion that the Pope ought himself, in the case of war, to say to the faithful what they have to do, here is what Pierre Lorson, SJ, says in his work Symphonie Pacifique, published in 1948, and still very much to the point:

"Christianity is not a dictatorship. It respects the liberty of the individual and asks him to respect and take his responsibilities. The Pope and the doctrine of the Church have laid down the principles. They have forbidden direct co-operation in an unjust cause. It is the business of each individual Christian to make the applications. It is convenient to blame the Pope for the cowardice of his faithful people."

MONICA WHATELY.

93 Makepiece Mansions, Highgate, N.6.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

DIARY

At this is a free service. We reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, August 6

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: 6 Endsleigh St. Policy Mtg. Cent. London PPU.

Saturday, August 7

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.: Pier Head. Open-air mtg. "No More War." Liverpool Peace Board.

Sunday, August 8

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

BELFAST: 6.30 p.m.: Mayfair Cinema. H-bomb protest. Dr. Burhop, Hugh Delargy, MP, and others. Helpers wanted for poster parade and PN selling. Belfast Trades Council.

Tuesday, August 10

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: The Friends' Mtg. Ho. "PPU Policy." Central Manchester Group, PPU.

Wednesday, August 11

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR, PPU.

Thursday, August 12

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss D. Brombacher. "The Jew in the World Today." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Saturday, August 14

LONDON, W.C.1: Night walk in Kent. Meet Charing Cross, Platform 1, 10.15. Bring food. 12 miles. Central London Group.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

Sunday, August 15

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7-9.30 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Sunday, August 29

LONDON, N.W.11: 3 p.m.: King Alfred School, North End Rd. London Area garden party. PPU.

Saturday, September 4

LONDON, W.C.2: "Renounce the H-bomb" rally. 1.45 p.m. Marchers and pipe band assemble at Endsleigh St., Euston, 3 p.m. Meeting in Trafalgar Square: Emyr Hughes, MP, Victor Yates, MP, John Hovland and others. Chair Sybil Morrison. 5 p.m. Peace Exhibition, Bookstall and Buffet in Friends Meeting House, St. Martins Lane, followed by "Any Questions" session, 7 p.m. FPC, FOR, PPU, APF, MPCC.

If you support our advertisers they will do more to SUPPORT US

★

Displayed advertisements in Peace News bring results. The rates are reasonable. Write for particulars to

THE ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER

PEACE NEWS LIMITED

3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1348, Telke Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shayler for board or bed and breakfast.

PERSONAL

HOLIDAY SUGGESTIONS invited by reader (graduate psychology). Box 573.

SHORTHAND-TYPIST, assist Naturopath and Novelist. Opportunity to become practitioner. 49 Adelaide Rd., Dublin.

ELIJAH COMING before Christ. World's only hope for peace. Wonderful book free. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 7, Rochester, NY.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Wornip, 64 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit). St. Dorothy Matthews, RA. 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PR12rose 5686.

POISONING

ARE YOU POISONING YOUR HUSBAND? Read Your Synthetic Food in the current number of The Farmer (incorporating Wholefood and including The Gardener). Also

Stomachs to Spare; Antics with Antibiotics; Are you a Food Crank? Who is Dizzy? and many articles of vital concern to all except the apathetic and over-agenised. 2s. 6d. a copy, 10s. a year, post free. Edited by Newman Turner, from Ferne Farm (P), Shaftesbury, Dorset.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

ALTERATIONS, CONVERSIONS, Repairs and all types of building work efficiently carried out by Parsons and Co., 323 Kennington Rd., S.E.11. REL 1421 for immediate attention.

FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Eyles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC 1765, Ext. 1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM requires fulltime assistant (short-hand/typist) at Head Office. Please write full details to 318 Regent's Park Road, Finchley, N.3.

IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube Finsbury Pk.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

HOUSMANS STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2s. 6d. 100; 6 x 3 1/2 envelopes, white 18s. 6d. 1,000 box manilla, 10s. 9d. 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10 x 8 in., 7s. 6d. 500 sheets; Newsprint, 10 x 5 in., 15s. 1,000. 1s. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 in., 13s. 6d. 1,000. 1s. 6d. 100. All post free. Help Peace News Fund by ordering your business, group and private stationery requirements from HOUSMANS, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SECONDHAND PACIFIST BOOKS

will be welcomed by Housmans Bookshop. Proceeds of sales to Peace News Fund. Offers/Gifts invited. 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

HOLIDAYS

AFTER CAPACITY BOOKINGS since March, including many recommendations and repeat visits, we have a few September vacancies, 5 1/2-7 1/2 gns. October usually becomes fully booked; vacancies still available for all floors, from 5 gns. upwards. Informative brochures free. Prices include extras, i.e., early tea, gratuities, heated bedroom if weather cool. Used by vegetarians. References gladly. Normanhurst P/Hotel, Seaford, St. Leonards.

Sussex. Mild sheltered climate. Medically commended for late and winter holidays (open every day of year; central heating throughout). Best position on Promenade. Phone Hastings 4784.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. "The Brims," Crich, Matlock. Vegetarian Guest House. Happy country holidays in a friendly atmosphere. Modern comforts. Ronald and Marguerite Heymans. Tel.: Ambergate 44.

9 PEACE NEWS FOR 2s. 6d.

A SPECIAL OFFER FOR NEW READERS

For 2s. 6d. the next 9 weekly issues of PEACE NEWS are posted to you.

Please send PEACE NEWS for...

to the name and address below.

I enclose £.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

CHURCHILL AND THE "FORTY YEARS ON" H-BOMB PERIL

Why any bases in the Middle East?

THE debate on the Government's decision to come to an agreement with Egypt and to leave the Suez base was one of the most interesting I have listened to since I have been in Parliament.

The Tory die-hards, the old school imperialists, staged their revolt and used the arguments which have been the stock in trade platitudes of the party for the last 50 years.

Churchill had to listen to a lot of taunts both from the Opposition and from his own back-benchers trying to look like the Sphinx of Egypt while at the same time inwardly boiling over almost to bursting point. He managed to keep down in his seat under the Attlee attack and the Waterhouse stabs, but when Paget accused him of encouraging the rebels he could stick it no longer.

Churchill's admission

And his interpolation then was by far and away the most important thing said in the debate:

"I have not in the slightest degree concealed in public speech how much I regretted the course of events in Egypt.

"But I had not held my mind closed to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which makes the thoughts which were well founded and well knit together a year ago utterly obsolete, and which have changed the opinions of every competent soldier that I have been able to meet.

"I am not going to attempt, in interrupting the hon. and learned gentleman, to lay this argument before the House, but I should be prepared to do so and to show how utterly out of all proportion to the Suez Canal and the position which we held in Egypt are the appalling developments and the appalling spectacle which imagination raises before us.

"Merely to try to imagine in outline the first few weeks of a war under conditions about which we did not know when the session commenced, and about which we had not been told—merely to portray that picture and submit it to the House would, I am sure, convince honourable gentlemen of the obsolescence of the base and of the sense of proportion which is vitally needed at the present time, not only in military dispositions but in all our attempts to establish human relationships between nation and nation."

Here was Britain's arch-imperialist who once had said: "I have not become Prime Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire," frankly admitting that in the light of the H-Bomb the whole strategy of British Imperialism has become obsolete.

What about Cyprus?

We were come a long way from the charge of Omdurman to the days of the H-Bomb.

But if Britain's biggest overseas base has been rendered obsolete by the H-Bomb what about the other bases?

The Government proposes to transfer some of the troops to Cyprus.

And what had Captain Waterhouse, the leader of the rebels, said about Cyprus in the debate of July 14? He had said:

"It is said that our men are going to Cyprus, to Greece and possibly the Jordan. It has been suggested in the debate this afternoon and in the Press, that the existence of the nuclear weapon has completely altered our strategy. I do not know that Cyprus would be any more pleasant under the hydrogen bomb than would the Canal Zone. We have heard of the disappearing atoll. There might be just another hole in the sea. That was Cyprus; that was the Middle East base. I do not think that is a very strong argument."

Certainly to transfer the base to Cyprus is not going to be very reassuring for the inhabitants.

Speaker after speaker proceeded to speculate as to where another base could be found in the Middle East.

What about Haifa?

Colonel Wigg and Dick Crossman suggested Haifa. Their idea is that there we could protect the Jews from the Egyptians and the Arabs. But that is not what the General Staff want a base for. They want a base for their anti-Russian strategy.

Any citizen of Haifa who has read what has been said about the danger of having a base in the Suez Canal and in Cyprus won't be very elated at learning of the proposition that Haifa should be chosen instead. When I put this to Crossman he replied that he was thinking of Haifa not as a bomber base but as a naval base.

But won't naval bases be in danger of being H-bombed, too?

I fail to understand why we should go round the Middle East looking for bases when the Suez Canal base is to be regarded as obsolete. (They are nearer Russia, nearer the H-Bomb.)

Will Russia be expected to approve of a naval base, with naval aircraft carriers, nearer bombing distance to the USSR?

CONSTANCE GIBBS

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Constance Gibbs, a part-time member of Peace News staff. The funeral was to take place yesterday at the City of London Crematorium.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fleish & Cook Ltd., The Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fencham Rd., London, N.1.

Why do we need to have any base in the Middle East?

For if what Churchill said is true any bases in the Middle East are likely to be as obsolete in the H-Bomb age as the base at Suez.

And what about Britain?

Then what about our bases at home. Mr. Julian Amery carried the logic of it a little further. He said:

"My right honourable friend, the Secretary of State for War, told us about the grave possibility of the use of the hydrogen bomb. If it is so grave that it makes the whole Suez Canal Zone of no further military use and the effort of maintaining the base no longer worth while, then what is the outlook for Portsmouth, Chatham and London?"

Yes, Mr. Amery is quite right in carrying the argument to its logical conclusion.

Britain is nearer Russian bases than is the Suez Canal.

Warning to USA

If Suez as a base is obsolete, and that is Churchill's argument, then so is Britain.

Our American friends might note the inexorable logic of the argument. If the Suez base is obsolete for us ought they not to realise that the British base is obsolete for them.

We would feel much safer in Britain if they did.

THE THIRD CAMP

□ From page one

Holland, the declarations of the Gold Coast Prime Minister and other African leaders, and now the emergence of Third Camp movements in the United States and Britain and the holding of a War Resisters International conference on the theme—all this presents a different picture from 1950.

There is no doubt, of course, that the changes in European diplomacy, the emergence of the H-bomb and the rise of colonial peoples have contributed to shaping a world situation which is infinitely more conducive to the promotion of a Third Camp than any since the war. There is every prospect that those historical forces will continue to compel certain nations, particularly those of Western Europe, in the direction of neutrality in the cold war.

But it is not necessary to tell pacifists and radicals that diplomatic neutrality is no guarantee of peace and a worth-while life for all.

That is precisely where the Third Camp comes in. Its object is to use this developing historical situation to further those ideas of creative peacemaking which its supporters share.

The Third Camp is not confined to pacifists as John Banks (himself not a pacifist) makes clear. But it does not ask that its pacifist members shall cease to express their pacifism. What it does is to offer yet another, and potentially enormously important, vehicle for pacifist work and witness. The original and continuing inspiration that pacifists have given to the Third Camp is fully recognised in this pamphlet.

The plain fact is that the Third Camp is going to grow. The optimism of its advocates is catching. It is no longer a wilderness and there are many who are ready now to think afresh about the part they and their countries must play if peace, happiness, survival are to be attained.

That the Third Camp is already more than just another Popular Front is indicated by this

I'm a Third Force Man . . .

"Everything will be called appeasement until justice becomes fashionable in power politics."

"Getting sick of everything in opposition to Western philosophy being labelled 'Communist'."

"Too convenient to be true. Russians might just as well argue that everything in the Western World is American. They do, of course, but they're wrong. It isn't—quite."

"Let's hang on to that 'quite' on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

"I'm a Third Force man myself—it's always tidier to have a referee."

—W. Douglas Home in the News Chronicle.

PICTURE POST DEBATE

□ From page one

methods likely to spell suicide" rather than roads to peace.

Believing that neither side will initiate "mutual suicide" by use of atomic weapons, Liddell Hart, the famous military writer advocates the development and loco-mobility of ground forces; Sir John Slessor, on the contrary, regards atomic air power, coupled with the threat of massive retaliation, as "the key to peace."

"There then," concludes Sir John, "is the main outline of the Road to Peace—the maintenance of Commonwealth-American Unity, the Anglo-American Bomber Force, and the Battle Fleet of the second half of the Twentieth Century."

AUGUST the Fourth, 1914, and Britain "girded up her loins" for the battle which was to be the last she would ever fight; not a battle for raw materials or for territorial gains, but a battle for an ideal, the first, not the last, had we but known it, of ideological wars.

The sudden relaxing of tension when it was known that Britain had declared war on Germany, brought the people out on to the streets, shouting and singing and flag-waving. Unshadowed by any prevision of the four years to come, those weary years of mud and slime and blood, they sang and cheered, broke the windows of these known to be Germans, and shouted for the King and Queen outside Buckingham Palace.

Except that the battleground was rather uncomfortably nearer than South Africa or the Crimea, there was little fear that "our brave boys" would not "carry the day," on the "fair fields of France."

Newspapers and speeches abounded with these clichés, and strangely, they found an answering echo, and eager response in the hearts and the actions of perfectly rational and intelligent people.

Kitchener's pointing finger and compelling

sort of telling phrase that comes frequently from the lips and pens of its supporters; John Banks writes—"our aims must include a resurgence of respect for human life, and a revival of joy in living." Hardly an unusual sentiment to expect from say, a parson, or some parsons, but as a political principle in this day and age it is total revolution!

Pacifist Third Campers have been hugely pleased at the extent to which pacifist thinking has been incorporated in the beliefs and aims of Third Campers generally. It seems that, in repudiating collective security (the basic anti-military position of the Third Camp), non-pacifist radicals and others have entered on a process of thinking and experience which may have profound personal as well as social effects. That is our hope.

In the meantime it is sufficient cause for satisfaction that democratic men are discovering an exciting new inspiration to co-operation in the struggle for peace and brotherhood.

For everyone interested enough to have read so far, this pamphlet is a "must."

THE REVOLT OVER C.D.

* From Page One

on Civil Defence for submission to Labour parties throughout the country asking them to follow Coventry's example.

TOTTENHAM: With only two votes against, Tottenham (Middlesex) Borough Council decided on July 22 to "suspend all expenditure and support for Civil Defence until such time as the Government provide adequate protection to the inhabitants of this borough."

Councillor Jack Dipple said that in the recent House of Commons debate the Government admitted the inadequacy of telephone landlines, one of the Government's technical measures against atomic warfare. The Home Under-Secretary (Sir Hugh Lucas-Tooth) had remarked that they would "stimulate interest" in Civil Defence. This, said Councillor Dipple, effectively punctured all the Government's phoney morale-raising propaganda. He was convinced that people up and down the country would give support to what was essentially an anti-war gesture.

BIRMINGHAM: By 70 votes to 37 the City Council insisted that the CD Committee should prepare a full report on CD proposals before the October Council meeting.

BETHNAL GREEN: A resolution expressing "serious concern" at the state of Civil Defence was passed in the Council on July 29. The Mayor, Ald. H. B. Wilson, who moved the motion said: "We feel that Coventry has been courageous in bringing to the notice of the country the present serious position with regard to Civil Defence."

KENT: A Labour resolution, "to consider the effectiveness of Civil Defence as at present organised in view of the destructive power of modern armaments" was defeated in Kent County Council.

ILFORD: As a result of a recent conference, an Ilford H-Campaign Committee has been set up. The Committee has already issued a memorandum on Civil Defence calling for an end to the "present perilous deception being carried on in the name of Civil Defence." It asks Ilford citizens whether they approve the spending of £10,166 for the building of a Civil Defence Centre in the district, especially since it has been revealed that a similar centre erected in Coventry would be totally useless in the event of atomic attack.

A Town Hall demonstration is planned with national speakers. Persons in the area wishing to take part are asked to contact Dave Goodman, 209 Coventry Rd., Ilford, Essex.

eyes, dominated towns and countryside; it was enough—this was a great crusade against a militaristic and Prussian-ridden Germany; these Huns, these vandals, were unspeakable brutes; they crucified those they captured, raped women, cut off the hands of children, and despoiled the countryside from sheer wantonness. These were the tales, and they were believed.

That there could be any fault in our own imperialistic policy, or in our "divide and rule" tactics in Europe, did not enter the minds of the British people on that August day 40 years ago, and it was given little chance to do so under the smothering patriotic propaganda of the years that followed.

The young sprang to arms; their life-blood was poured out in fighting for a few yards of ground; the tears of the bereaved fell upon the stony memorials raised to perpetuate the lie that a war had been fought which would end all wars, and that the sacrifice of a whole generation had achieved that blazingly glorious end.

The League of Nations, on which so many high hopes founded relied, as all sovereign nations have relied in the past, and now, upon armed force. Collective security without a collective spirit was doomed from the outset.

It has been terribly proved that one war leads to the next war; that a defeated nation cannot meekly accept defeat; that a victorious nation does not know how to make a true peace.

It has been too easy to put the whole responsibility on to Germany; to forget the provocation of British arrogance in the years before 1914; to refuse to remember Britain's resistance to a German Republic in the years that followed the downfall of the Kaiser and the end of the war.

Yet, these were the seeds that gave birth to Hitler, and so to the second world war, and that other monstrous birth, the nuclear fission weapon.

Truly, men are little better now than "angry apes," unless, as it begins to seem possible, they are at last able to recognise that wars whether they be called aggressive or defensive are the expression of man's own will, and it is by that will, and that alone, that war must be outlawed.

Fear of the results of our own "fantastic tricks" may be the motive for the great efforts now being made to achieve settlements without resort to methods which might result in a war where the price of victory would be the annihilation of mankind.

But fear is not a very solid basis on which to build; the paramount need today is a fearless acceptance of that to which so much lip-service is paid—the moral force of good. If good is to be the end then evil must be discarded. Forty years is surely long enough in which to have learned the lesson that to end wars, wars must be renounced.

MPs to campaign for colonial amnesties

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY and other Members of Parliament have commenced a campaign to obtain amnesties in Malaya and Kenya for prisoners taken as a result of the colonial wars there.

In Parliament last Friday Mr. Brockway said, "the time has come when an amnesty should be offered in Malaya, when we should make proposals for ending the jungle war on such terms and conditions that the bitterness and the hatred that have found expression in that war shall not be continued."

If the fighting in Kenya and Malaya did not end with an opportunity for some racial co-operation said Mr. Brockway, then those who had been engaged in the terrorist struggle would go to neighbouring countries and apply their doctrines there.

Confidence could only be restored in Malaya if the people there were given some hope of eventually coming into control not only of the political machinery but of the economic resources of their country.

"If we can hope that the new Secretary of State (for the Colonies) will approach this problem in that kind of temper and spirit, then there is reason to be confident about the future of Malaya."

THE THIRD CAMP

- * How it came about
- * What it is
- * What its prospects are

An explanation by
JOHN BANKS

Price Fourpence
Per doz 3/9 post free

Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd.
London